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NOTE ON ROSENTHAL

He has been known to the Alexandria Police for twenty years as a man generally holding very advanced ideas on social questions. The Police have described him from time to time as an anarchist or, politically dangerous. An observer who knows him and on whose information every reliance can be placed, says that there is no doubt that he holds very strong Communist ideas and that he is active in disseminating them. He is not an agitator in the accepted meaning of the term but there is no question he wishes to alter the present social order of things, but he is not believed to favour violent methods. His present aim is to unite all workers in Egypt into one big confederation and there is no doubt that one of the methods by which he hopes to achieve this is to by gradually educating the workers in the Communist ideas he holds.

Holding the views he does he would obviously encourage and associate himself with such a Club as the "ETUDES SOCIALES", which avowedly is "THIRD INTERNATIONAL" in character. There is also no question he is in touch as an Agent or correspondent in Egypt (note: an open Agent as far as is known) of the "THIRD INTERNATIONAL". He is in communication with EVILOFF, who is said to be Bolshevic representative at Sofia, Bulgaria, while he also communicates with "THIRD INTERNATIONAL" Agencies in Vienna

Joseph Rosenthal (1872-1966) is known to historians of early Egyptian communism as a central figure in the inception of the movement. However, his contribution to the formation and activities of the first Egyptian Communist Party lasted a mere 3 years, even less, in his 94-year long life!

In the course of my research on the history of British colonial policing of socialism, communism and syndicalism, and how it shaped post-colonial policies, nationalist narratives, and Egyptian nationality legislation and practices, I kept finding threads leading back to Rosenthal in various archives and literatures.

The more I traced his life story and intellectual and personal trajectory, the more I found his biography to be a powerful testimony of the conflicting forces that shaped the modern history of Egypt and the region, between nationalism and internationalism, sectarianism and universalism, statism and anti-authoritarianism..

In this short graphic interpretation of his life, I will share my ongoing attempts to reconstitute Joseph Rosenthal's intriguing trajectory; what was it like to be an Ashkenazi Jew born in Palestine in the 19th century; a Hasidic teenager son of an ostracized proponent of the Jewish enlightenment movement; a Jewish migrant artisan in Beirut, then Cairo and Alexandria, who came to be critical to all religions' condoning of class hierarchies and exploitation, an Ottoman anarcho-syndicalist with a transnational agenda of solidarity and activism at the turn of the century, a communist and a syndicalist in the context of rising interwar Egyptian nationalism, a Jew struggling to have his Egyptian nationality recognized and his voting rights granted in post-war Egypt, and finally, an aging man who persisted in living through the loss of everything..

In all of this, we learn how sectarian and nationalist maps were drawn over a reality of complex and fragmented identities and trajectories. We also learn how colonialism has been intrinsic to the nature of post-coloniality in the region.

Rim Naguib  
Berlin 2022

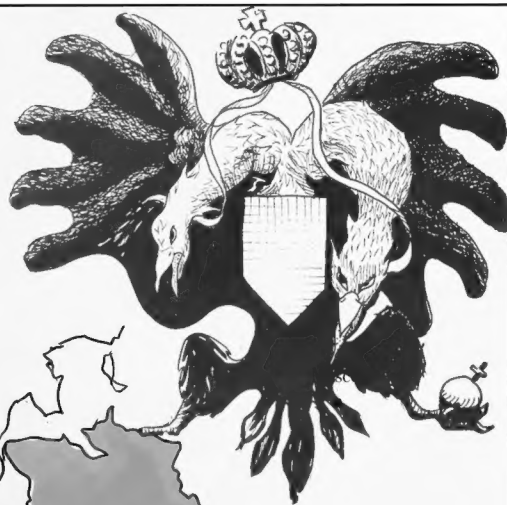
Joseph's background and the beginning of his trajectory is bound with Judaism. His father, David Rosenthal, was born in northern Ukraine, in the Pale of Settlement where the majority of the Jews of Russia lived and were restricted in movement and rights.



When David reached the age of twelve, his family decided to migrate to Palestine, in the Ottoman Empire, for fear that they would lose their child to the Russian imperial army, since Jewish boys were liable to military conscription from the age of twelve, and would have to serve for 25 years. A quota was imposed that had to be fulfilled by the heads of the Jewish communities, who would pick those they perceived as "non-useful Jews" to give to the empire's army, which meant the poor and the "heretics" or those who had an affinity to the movement of Jewish enlightenment: the Haskala.



With the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853, the conscription quota of Jewish boys quadrupled, and that's when David Rosenthal's family headed to Safad, Palestine.



Baltic Sea

Prussia

Kingdom of Poland

Berdychiv

Odessa

Black Sea

Austro-Hungarian Empire

Istanbul

Mediterranean Sea

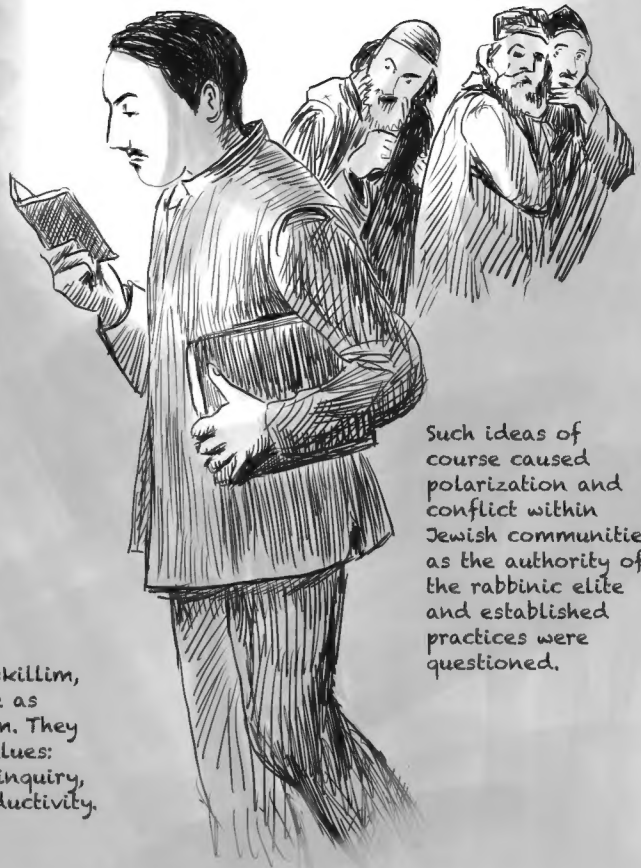
Beirut

Safed

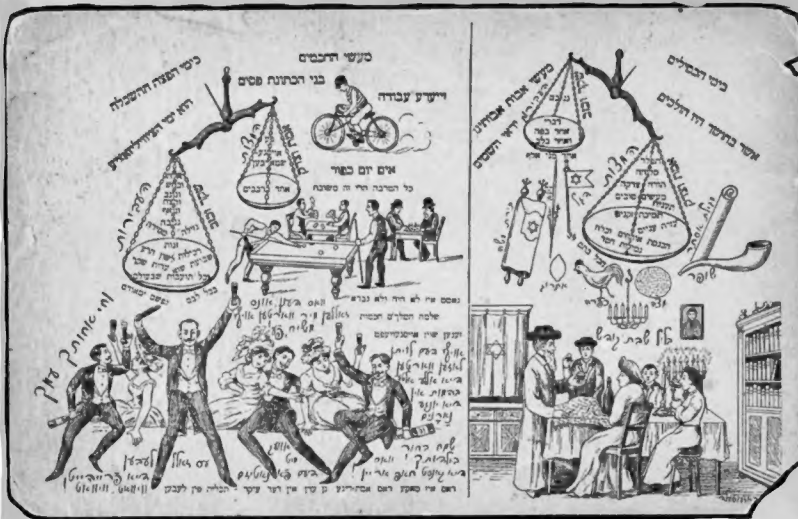
From a young age, David Rosenthal became known for his intellectual pursuits. He had spoken only Yiddish, but taught himself German and French, beside his good knowledge of Hebrew. He pursued secular education in Paris, where he got closer to the Haskala-minded people and organizations.

David came to contribute to Haskala with his writings in notable maskillim journals, which earned him the title of "David der Shreyber" (David the writer, in Yiddish), but it also earned him the persecution of the hasidic community of Safad, which is thought to have precipitated his death at 36, widowing the Safad-born young mother of four, and orphaning five-year old Joseph.

The proponents of Haskala, or the Maskillim, viewed the state of the Jews in Europe as deplorable and in dire need of reform. They advocated the adoption of modern values: rationalism, freedom of thought and inquiry, secular education, and economic productivity.



Such ideas of course caused polarization and conflict within Jewish communities, as the authority of the rabbinic elite and established practices were questioned.



The Haskalah brought forth two opposing movements: that of cultural assimilation, and universalism: the assimilation into the secular political community of the nation-state on the one hand, and on the other hand Zionism, or religious nationalism: the creation of the Jews' own state. These contradictory tendencies born out of the conditions of the Jews in Europe, between nationalism/sectarianism versus universalism and integration played out in the life and times of Rosenthal.

Moses Mendelssohn  
(1729-1786)

*Judaism has no tenets of faith  
that could not be arrived at  
through human reason.*

*Jews must gain a  
secular education and  
develop the Torah of  
Man.*

*Hasidism is responsible for  
the cultural backwardness  
of the Jews.*

Yosef Perl  
(1773-1839)

Naftali Herts Wessely  
(1725-1805)



Max Lilienthal  
(1815-1882)

*Government reforms to  
expose Jews to secular  
education are essential*

*Anti-semitism in Europe is an incurable  
disease.. the Jews must have their own  
homeland somewhere on the planet*



Yitshak Ber Levinzon  
(1788-1860)

*Jews must integrate  
within their respective  
societies*

Leon (Lev) Pinsker  
(1821-1891)



But this background to his life story and intellectual trajectory was unknown to young Joseph. He was born and grew up in Safad

SAFAD, PALESTINE 1885



He received all his education in the most traditional setting; at a Karlin Hasidic shtiebel





He took the journey to Jerusalem, for three days over the back of mules. But once in the school in the company of the welcoming maskil director, Nassim Bachar, he was intimidated by the Western outfit and shaved heads of the students, and decided that he felt more at home with the Hasidim of Karlin.



His mother had spent years providing for her children by selling bread or going on ships to Eastern Europe to sell souvenirs from the Holy Land. She must have felt disappointed with Joseph's decision to turn down the offer, but, she said, she preferred to see him happy and thriving rather than enlightened and miserable.



the following year, however, when he was 14, his life changed due to an encounter that caused him to go through a kind of personal enlightenment.

YOUR FATHER 'DAVID DER SHREYBER' WAS AN ACTIVE MASKIL...

One day, a friend of his deceased father recognized him in the crowd, and invited him to spend a few days at his place.

the following year, however, when he was 14, his life changed due to an encounter that caused him to go through a kind of personal enlightenment.

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YOUR FATHER 'DAVID DER SHREYBER' WAS AN ACTIVE MASKIL...

One day, a friend of his deceased father recognized him in the crowd, and invited him to spend a few days at his place.



THAT'S THE ONLY ONE WE STILL HAVE..



.. the halukkah system only reinforces dependency among the Jews in Eretz Israel and hinders learning and economic productivity.

.. the halukkah system only reinforces dependency among the Jews in Eretz Israel and hinders learning and economic productivity.

המערכת תשקיע את התזקה של אשכנזים וספרדים

The system reinforces division between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim...The tzedakah would better be entrusted to the state..

30. 4.

.. and spent on the building of agricultural and other vocational schools for the Jews in Palestine.  
David der shreyber

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המערכת תשקיע את התזקה של אשכנזים וספרדים

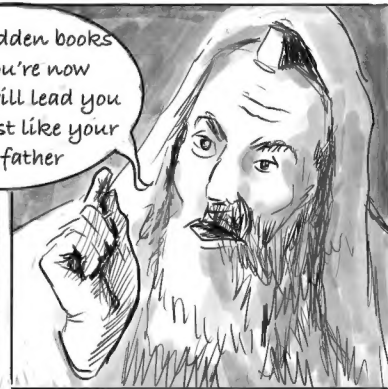
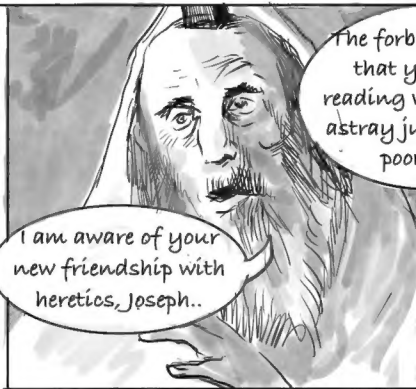
The system reinforces division between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim...The tzedakah would better be entrusted to the state..

30. אפר

.. and spent on the building of agricultural and other vocational schools for the Jews in Palestine..  
David der shreyber



He began to see hasidic prayer and rites in a new light, and found them almost ridiculous



He sat down and drafted a letter to Nassim Bachar, the director of the Alliance's school, elaborating on why he has become critical of his hasidic education, and why he regrets not having joined the secular school in Jerusalem.

Before he was able to send the letter however, it was stolen! and it reached the hands of the rebbe. Everyone knew Joseph was in trouble. As he entered the Kloiz for the mid-day prayer, all eyes turned and gazed at him, while a senior of the Shtiebel began to reprimand him loudly and mercilessly, calling him a traitor, an uncircumcised heretic, and read out loud Joseph's letter.

At the end of the long tirade, he ordered him out of the Kloiz and to never show his face again! It was then that Joseph and his mother decided he should immediately leave Safad, to Beirut where his sister lived.

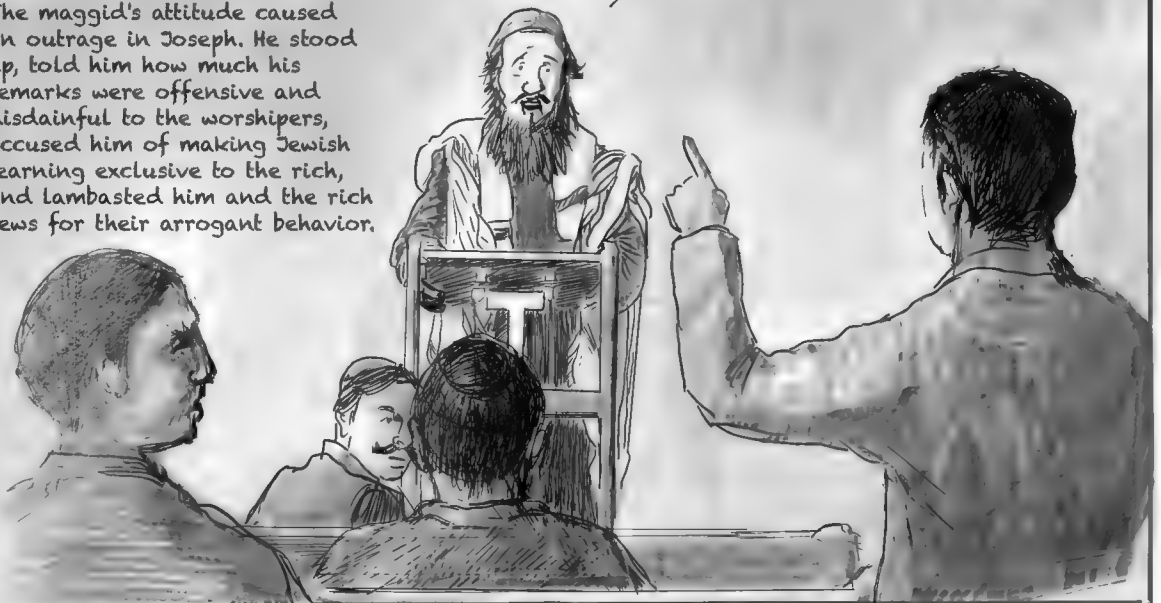


Another influential event happened in Beirut that resolved his ambivalent feelings towards the religious establishment.

One day he learned that a maggid from Jerusalem was going to give a sermon in the synagogue. Joseph and the poorest of the worshipers arrived early to attend. But the wealthy Jews did not show up on time, and the maggid waited for them to start the sermon.

After a while he gave up and began speaking, only to find them arriving one after the other fifteen minutes into his speech. He stopped, welcomed the rich worshipers, and said he would happily start his sermon all over again, since the rest of the audience likely did not understand a word anyways!

The maggid's attitude caused an outrage in Joseph. He stood up, told him how much his remarks were offensive and disdainful to the worshipers, accused him of making Jewish learning exclusive to the rich, and lambasted him and the rich Jews for their arrogant behavior.



Amid the clamour that followed in the synagogue, a young man approached Joseph and asked him if he was a marxist. It was the first time Joseph had heard of Marx' name. He replied that he didn't know what being a marxist meant

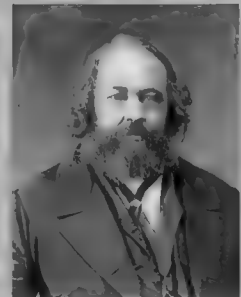


I am Horn, a member of the Jewish Bund. You should get in touch with this organization.. and here, this is Marx's Communist Manifesto..

When Joseph parted with this man, he felt that he was entering a new phase in his life.

After this encounter, he began reading anarchist and communist literature. He plunged in the writings of Marx, Bakunin and Kropotkin. He found "Arbeter Fraynd" or "Friend of the Worker", a London-based Yiddish anarcho-communist paper, and began to correspond with its editor, the famous Rudolph Rocker.

At this time, there was a transnational network of Yiddish anarcho-syndicalists. They opposed the state and national borders, and strove for a society that organized itself without authority, through small cooperative movements. They shared a commitment to secular Yiddish culture, militant atheism, fighting antisemitism and rejecting the idea of a Jewish homeland.



עדיטירט דורך פֿרײַדמאַן  
LONDON October 26, No. 2, VOL XIX 1905  
נייט-וועקליך אַרבעטער פֿרײַנד  
עדיטירט דורך פֿרײַדמאַן  
פֿעניקס  
קאָנצערט און באַר  
עספּרעס האַלל

After this initiation into radical ideas, Joseph began to hold discussion meetings in his newly opened clockshop in Beirut, until one day, the mufti of Beirut, the father of his friend, warned him that the Ottoman authorities intended to arrest him, because informants reported that he was inciting against God and against the Porte.

Rosenthal thus decided to move to Egypt.

On his way, he stopped over in his hometown, Safad, and visited a number of Jewish settlements.

He was critical of the rising Jewish nationalism, and was convinced—along Jewish bundists and Yiddish anarcho-syndicalists—that the solution to the problem of the Jews globally lay in their socialist struggle, along others, against exploitation, and sectarian and racial hatred. He was also dismayed at how the employees of the Baron de Rothschild had created yet another system of distribution and patronage, and how the functioning of the settlements depended on the exploitation of Arab labor.



## Alexandria, Egypt 1898



He arrived in Alexandria as a young man of twenty-seven. Beginning a new life..



Charlotte, his elder daughter, was born the following year. She would become a communist activist and a comrade of her father, and their fates would be intertwined.

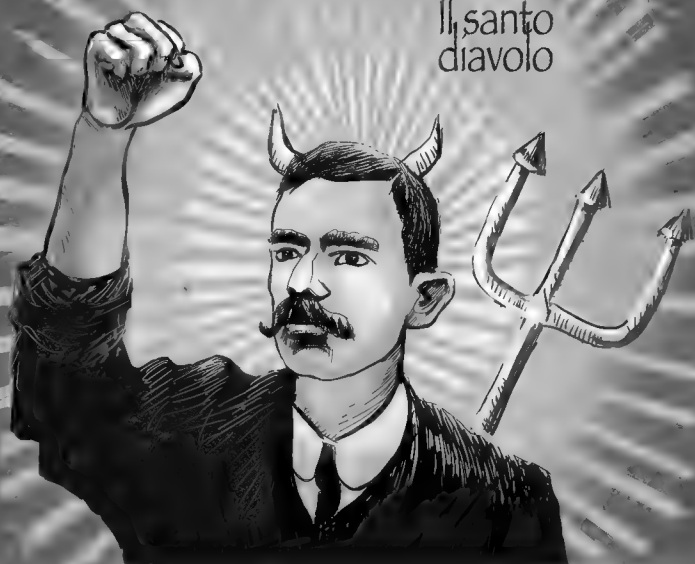
..and expecting new life..



Once in Egypt, Joseph became the political companion of "il santo diavolo" (the saint devil), Pietro Vasal, who arrived in Egypt at the same time, after his life had consisted of a series of arrests, expulsions and prison sentences, for his anarchist and socialist activism. He fled to Tunisia first, where he learned the job of typographer and published an anarchist paper, and from there to Egypt, where he carried on with his printing and editing work—thanks to a collection of stolen typesets—and played a pivotal role not just in the anarchist press that flourished in Egypt in the first decade of the 20th century, but in various organizational and syndicalist activities that he undertook with Joseph Rosenthal.

Despite their completely different backgrounds and trajectories, Joseph and Pietro were both anti-state, anti-nationalist, and staunch proponents of self-organization and direct democracy. They wanted to see borders vanish, and strove to stretch networks of transnational solidarity, locally and internationally.

During these years, Joseph seems to have acted as a bridge between Jewish, Yiddish, and Italian anarcho-syndicalists in Alexandria.



## Perchè siamo Anarchici - Che cosa vogliamo.

### L'INTESA.

Da molto tempo si sentiva il bisogno tra gli anarchici residenti in Egitto, di liberamente intendersi e determinare il metodo tattico per la propaganda delle alte idealità alle quali s'ispirano: perciò furono da tutti accolte e ben accette le proposte fatte dai compagni di Cairo tendenti a indire un convegno nel quale si sarebbero discusse le questioni che in questo paese maggiormente interessano per tracciare delle norme atte a determinare una propaganda, coerente alle aspirazioni libertarie ma efficace e pratica in modo da interessare e gli operai della mente e quelli del braccio.

Il convegno ebbe luogo in Alessandria domenica 1° Agosto, nella sala del Circolo Atco, con numeroso concorso di compagni.

La discussione durata quasi 3 ore fu elevata serena ed esauriente.

Furono ad uno ad uno discussi i quesiti presentati dai compagni di Cairo, col questionario che qui sotto riportiamo e furono concretate le relative risposte che riproduciamo; queste approvate alla quasi unanimità stabiliscono i metodi da seguirsi nella propaganda anarchica in questo paese, metodi che pur mantenendo intera la coerenza dei principi, lasciano una razionale libertà di azione tanto agli anarchici aggruppati quanto a quelli che intendono esercitare la propaganda individualmente.

La pubblicazione di un giornale di propaganda libertaria fu assicurata con solide basi.

Siamo lieti di questo avvenimento che ha dissipato molti equivoci e malintesi e che permette agli anarchici di riprendere il loro posto di combattimento nelle palestre ove lottano per un migliore avvenire gli uomini di cuore coscienti e fidenti nell'avvento della Giustizia Sociale.

Gli Anarchici d'Egitto.



**L'UNIVERSITA' POPOLARE LIBERA**  
e gli operai.



ANNO II.

84.

### Abstract

Perito: Un anno . . . . .	P.T. 20
Sei mesi . . . . .	" 10
Tre mesi . . . . .	" 5

**PREZZO:** Un anno. . . . . Fr. 10  
Ses mesi . . . . . 5

Una P. O. il Numero.

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**Inserzioni:**  
Solo in quarta pagina; prezzi a  
convenirsi

**Pagamenti anticipati**

Indirizzo:

Giornale L'Espresso

ALESSANDRIA - NOITTO

# L'OPERAIO

PERIODICO SETTIMANALE

**Lavoratori di tutto il mondo, unitevi!**

C. Marx

I manoscritti, anche se non pubblicati, non si restituiscono.

*Degli anonimi non si tien conto.*

**Tutti gli operai possono essere nostri collaboratori: noi non domandiamo lavori letterari, ma IDEE e FATTI.**

## LA COSCIENZA INDIGENA

Si noti prima di tutto che tutti i vetturini sono indigeni, i quali non hanno nessuna educazione intellettuale e sociale. Essi ignorano ciò che fanno in Europa i fratelli dello stesso loro mestiere ogniquale volta i loro diritti sono lesi. Ignorano i progressi che per l'istruzione hanno conseguito tutti i lavoratori del mondo, se non nei fatti, nel concetto d'intendere la loro situazione.

mo, con la sconfitta dei vetturini perché essi han dovuto cedere alla fame e alla miseria; ma ciò non significa che il loro atto non valga assolutamente nulla e che non produca alcun cambiamento.

**"Labour  
Therefore  
religion  
suffer th  
aspirati**

Pochi, dotati di forze superiori a quelle della generalità dei viventi, sono riusciti ad abbattere i più duri, a renderli schiavi, a proclamare la loro sovranità. Essi si appropriano

**has no frontiers o**

re we make no issue  
or race. All feel the  
same grief; all have  
on: their own well

**e other than the re  
well-being."** Se prin-  
perduto il loro impero. Non suggeris-  
di esse che qualche individuale rap-  
presentanza. Si sono qua- i fuse colla  
classe predominante, la borghesia,  
la quale anch'essa grado grado cede il  
posto al capitalismo, corpo che tende  
ad assorbire la vitalità d'ogni classe  
sociale.

Il Capitale, la grande montagna che raffigura e reintegra tutte le forze umane, si rende fattore di rivoluzione.

da e abbiamo da sperare bene. Noi non andiamo dunque errati dicendo che occorre spiegare le ragioni del sentimento di fratellanza fra gli uomini come fattore di civiltà.

**r language.**

**of nationality,  
the same needs, all  
ave one sole  
being, which**

**sult of the**

L'uomo poi ha bisogno individuali di un genere che allora si vede costretto, per salvare se stesso da certa lenta soppressione, di non curarsi del suo simile, di regolarsi qualche volta in modo che il suo simile pensi e muoia di fame per lui. Avvene questo nella società d'oggi, ma avviene perché c'è la lotta per l'esistenza, cioè la negazione di ogni sentimento.

Rosenthal's syndicalism among indigenous workers began in his workplace, when he encouraged the Egyptian workers at Zusmann's jewellery shop to organize and demand an eight-hour working day, and a holiday on labor day.

The shop owner, a fellow Jew, offered Joseph a differential treatment to stop him from inciting the workers, but Rosenthal did not give up the collective demand.

In another instance he threatened to resign if an indigenous worker, who was fired without indemnity or prior notice, was not reinstated.

It was common practice in colonial Egypt that factory owners would appeal to communal or national identification among workers to break strikes and worker solidarity. Rosenthal was aware of this, and it was exactly that which he wished to struggle against.

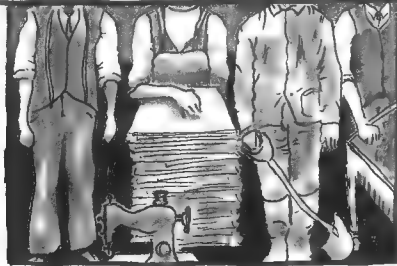
He then began to hold "circles of self-education" for workers in his home, and from these meetings the seeds of several syndicates were born.



Testimony of  
Monsieur  
Rosenthal to  
the Parquet

Published in Al-Ahram, March 7, 1924

As soon as I arrived in Egypt, I began to organise labour unions; first the union of cigarette rollers, then the unions of metalworkers, of printers, and of tailors.. At the time, they were predominantly made up of foreign workers..





Rosenthal's name also figured in instances of significant mass mobilization in Alexandria, in solidarity with victims of state tyranny and clerical oppression across borders, such as the large-scale demonstrations against the extradition of Russian anarcho-syndicalists and members of the Black Sea Sailors Union in 1907 and in 1913, and such as the mobilization against the execution of Francisco Ferrer in 1909.



January 20, 1907

VIVA LA LIBERTÀ!  
A BAS LE TSAR!

ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ  
يسقط الاستبداد  
убежище



### YESTERDAY'S SCENES IN ALEXANDRIA.

To all outward appearance, Alexandria, ordinarily so peaceful on a Sunday, seemed yesterday to be in the very throes of a revolution. The agitation in favour of the release of three Russian refugees, who have been arrested by the police on a very grave charge, and to which we referred on Saturday, yesterday assumed much more serious proportions than were warranted by the facts of the case. Headless of the diplomatic difficulties which stand in the way of such a step, and regardless of the Capitulations, a large proportion of the European population of Alexandria is clamouring for the release of three Russian revolutionaries, whose extradition they wish to prevent—on grounds which are purely sentimental.

Rosenthal's anarchist phase focused on transnational solidarity and fighting racism and nationalism and on the value of self-organization against the power of the state. His ideas would undergo a slight shift following the war, partly due to the general global intellectual shift from anarchism to socialism and communism, but also due to his desire to help in the anti-colonial nationalist struggle, and to effect social change in Egypt through party politics, with the backing of the new soviet state.



The first world war, and the mass mobilizations that broke out across Egypt in 1919 against British colonialism and state wartime extractions, would be a turning point in Rosenthal's political trajectory. The rising numbers of indigenous workers in the industrial workforce, as well as the radicalization of the Arabic-speaking population, filled him with hope for social change in Egypt.

He thus focused on organizing the labor movement, forming socialist discussion groups and eventually organising the Egyptian socialist/ communist party. His Confédération Générale des Travailleurs (CGT) gathered a membership of about 20,000 workers in 1923, two years after its formation. And despite the reluctance of nationalist heads of worker unions to join it, it played an important role in organizing labor action in the period of its operation.

The heads of the unions resisted the idea of a general inclusive union, for fear of losing their power. We therefore formed a general confederation of workers with only 300 workers.



We then decided to form a party to defend the interests of the workers in the legislative assembly against capitalist exploitation.

(الاحرام) الاثنين ٢٩ أغسطس سنة ١٩٢٦

## بيان الحزب الاشتراكي المصري

في تلك الآونة التي تصف فيها النظم الرأسمالية  
الفردية بحياة بني الانسان وأرواحهم وعقولهم  
وجهودهم وثبت النظم وللشادي الاشتراكية في  
الاخذة الممذبة لأفكار الانسانية وأغاثتها من بطش  
القوي النظم وعقيد غايات العدالة الطبيعية من تأييد  
مواطني النظم والسلم في المجتمع الانساني

حسن  
سنة  
دين  
سيند  
تاج  
مام  
نمود  
حد  
بن



But Rosenthal's nationalist turn did not spare him the fate of being increasingly regarded as a "misya" and a "khawaga", associated with European colonialists and those who benefited from colonial privileges and hierarchies.

He was perceived as European although he had never set foot in Europe, and never stepped out of the Ottoman Empire. He also did not benefit from the capitulations, since he did not possess any European subject status. He was an Ottoman subject by virtue of the 1869 Ottoman nationality law, and he would qualify to being considered Egyptian according to the turn-of-the-century decrees that regulated this question based on birth and duration of domicile in Egypt. At the time of the founding of the Egyptian Communist Party, and throughout most of the 1920s, an Egyptian nationality law had not existed, and these old decrees regulated the question of subject status.

But Rosenthal's cosmopolitanism, his speaking several languages, his being an Ashkenazi Jew, in the Jewish trade of clockmaking and jewelry, and his connections to the various European communities, were sufficient markers that made him a khawaga or a misya in the eyes of some Arabic-speaking Egyptians.

On various occasions, al-Ahram stressed on Rosenthal's foreignness and distinguished him from "the nationals" (al-wataniyyin).

The first instance was when he sought to compete in the Alexandria municipal elections for the Egyptian seat in 1920. Al-Ahram exclaimed, "we must tell him to stop!" "there are many Egyptian notables who are more entitled than you, to hold the only available seat for nationals in the council!" and invited him to run in the elections as a Russian, arguing that no Egyptian would vote for a European, even if a socialist voice in the council will be beneficial for the people.

The second instance was when the paper announced in the following year his intent to form an Egyptian Socialist Party, and argued that Rosenthal's socialism was not suited to national conditions, ethics, customs and interests, and called on "everyone working for the interest of the country to monitor such a party".

In both instances, Rosenthal was striving to claim membership in the Egyptian nation and to participate in its civic and political life as a citizen, and in both instances al-Ahram's discourse focused on his foreignness, and denied him this claim.

لإعادة بنائهم لأنهم لا يستطيعون البناء  
الاستعمالات أقلية عند انصارهم - وأنهم ما يجب لفت  
فقط الجمهور الوطني إلى مسألة الميسو روزنتال تاجر  
الخارجيات للتقدم للاشتباك بمبادئ اشتراكية. إن  
هذه المبادئ جذابة وجدنا لو استمع الرجل أن  
بأننا مرشحا روسيا كما كان وكما يجب أن يكون  
أما هو ليقدم حتى الآن بصفة مرشح وطني فيجب  
أن يقال له قلب فان عندنا من هو أحق منك  
بالخوس على الكرسي الوحيد الذي يخلو في البلدية  
للوطنيين. وما من وطني في الاشتراكية يعطي  
صوته في الاشتباكات روزنتال أو غيره من غير عبد العزيز  
بلك الخطيبي أو من كان مرشحا مثله من وجهاء  
الوطنيين

## الحزب الاشتراكي المصري

بعض الميسو روزنتال منذ أمد بعيد لنا -  
حزب اشتراكي في هذه البلاد وبدأ عمله بالخطابة  
محقوق للتأجرين ثم باعده النقابات مع مواصلة  
السعي لانقاذ جاحه من الوطنيين أن عاشوه في  
شرعه وقد سمح بأن اتبع الدكتور علي افندي  
السنان بأن يكون سكرتير الفرع الوطني كما يكون  
مرفقاته أي روزنتال سكرتير الفرع الفرانسوي  
والانكليزي وكما يكون الخواجا بريس سكرتير  
الفرع اليوناني ولا شك بأن هذا الحزب سيعمل  
برأيه ولا شك بأن هذا البرنامج سيتبعن ويعمل  
طيبة ولكن الوعد شيء والبذل شيء آخر  
وحالة البلد الاجتماعية تقضي علينا وعلى كل  
عقل في مصلحته بكتابة حزب كهذا لا لأنك  
التعالم والمذاهب الاشتراكية السليمة السليمة بل لأن  
شكره النظرات المتطرفة التي تقضي بالفترة ونحن  
نود بالتطور رويدا رويدا  
أولا نعرف مذهب الدكتور العناني من هذه  
الوجهة ولا مهي الاشتراكية. وهل هي متطرفة  
أو علمية ولكننا نعرف شيئا من مذهب الميسو  
روزنتال ونعرف شيئا كما يسلط رؤساء النقابات  
الوطنيين فنعرف أم اشتراكي متطرف. وقد تجاوز  
حدود التطرف. فهل الدكتور العناني من مذهب  
أن لكل أمة أخلاقتها وعوائدها ومفاهيمها وما  
يصح أن يجري في إيطاليا وألمانيا ورومانيا - مثلا -  
أن يتبع في مصر

To add to this, Rosenthal was attacked from within the party..

Although he was working along an Egyptian effendi, Husni al-Urabi, to arabize the party's central committee, becoming himself the "head of the European section of the party", an ideological fissure occurred in mid-1922, between the moderate intellectuals of the Cairo section and the radical tendency of the Alexandria section, but it was formulated in nationalist terms by the moderates..

Salama Musa attacked Rosenthal and his steering the party towards communism on the pages of al-Ahram..

And despite the defense by another Egyptian member of the Cairo group, Muhammad 'Abdalla 'Anan..



Rosenthal is jeopardizing Egypt's claim for independence.. our loyalty to Egypt must be stronger than our loyalty to socialism!

Musa's brand of socialism is English reactionary socialism! It is national and selfish socialism.. The Egyptian working class will acquire strength from joining the Third Internationale and from solidarity with the workers of the world.



Egyptian capitalists are Egyptians after all !!  
Rosenthal is fomenting enmity between social classes in Egypt! He is harming Egypt's national interests.

.. Musa's line of argument echoed well with the anti-socialist and anti-communist tendencies of the Egyptian elite and the conservative press.

At the same time, the British were working up a plan within the Egyptian government to get rid of Rosenthal.

The Acting Director of British Intelligence, Humphrey Beaman, together with the British director of public security within the Egyptian Ministry of Interior, and the British Foreign Office, contemplated different ways to deport Rosenthal without "raising dust in England".

The British adviser to the Ministry of Interior wrote a special note about him summing up his reported mischief since 1901, when "he came to the notice of the police as a rabid and fanatical anarchist spreading subversive propaganda amongst the local Jews", that "he figured prominently in the 1913 extradition case of Adamovitch", that he was "reported by the refugees administration as being the instigator of intrigue and troubles amongst Russian Jews" and noting his prominent role in the strikes of 1920 including the shop renters', the tailors' and the barbers' employees strikes.





The links he had with various socialist groups and labour organizations impressed British officials, to the extent that they reiterated that the deportation of Rosenthal and his daughter would seriously affect the prospects of radicalization in the country. One despatch argued that "communism in Egypt is a 'one man show' and that 'one man' is Rosenthal".

General Clayton from the War Office cited the benefits of deporting Rosenthal, either by the Egyptian government or "by us under martial law".

Rosenthal's national origin was debated in the correspondences, and the British wished to find evidence that he was Russian to legitimate his deportation. When they failed, Graves, the Acting Director General of Public Security, argued that the fact that he was a local subject "would not legally stand in the way of his deportation".

But the attempt to deport him, would have to wait until the Wafd was in power, and until it launched its fierce anti-communist campaign during its first government in coordination with the British.

COPY  
10th March 1933.

754

The Adviser,  
Ministry of Interior.

The following is a note of the information possession about JOSEPH and CHARLOTTE ROSENTHAL:-

1901: Joseph Rosenthal came to the notice of the as a rabid and fanatical anarchist spreading various propaganda amongst the local Jews.

1918: Figured prominently in the case of ADAMOVITCH, a Russian nihilist.

July 1918: Reported by the Refugee Administration as being the instigator of intrigues and trouble amongst Russian Jews.

Nov. 1918: During the Peace Celebrations he flew the Socialist flag, viz: a red flag with clasped hands.

12.7.1920: As President of the Syndicat des Locataires, Joseph Rosenthal organised the 24 hours strike as a sign of protest against the high cost of shop rents, and his daughter made herself prominent in parading the streets at the head of numerous parties with the object of obliging the shops which had opened to close.

14.7.1920: Alexandria Police reported him to have been the principal instigator of the Tailors Employees Strike and to have been mixed up in the Barbers Employees Strike pretends to be a Socialist but is not one. He is merely an agitator who works only for his own ends. He is trying to obtain a post as a Municipal Councillor in spite of the fact that although he stood for the last Elections, he obtained a very small number of votes.

might try and raise dust in ENGLAND if ROSENTHAL was deported and we should therefore require a good case against him before taking any such action in order to have a complete answer on any enquiries that might be made. Dr. Granville also seemed to



W. G. G.  
H. W. G.  
H. P. G.

These are interesting papers about Rosenthal & his daughter. There seems some chance that he later may shortly give to G. G. an excuse to deport him.

Very True  
It is desirable to be quite clear as to Rosenthal's nationality. It is an interesting question. He is known to have been in England during the war. The fact that he is a Russian Jew does not seem to be of sufficient importance. He is a local subject. He is a local subject. He is a local subject.

claims to be a local subject, but that would not legally stand in the way of his deportation, if, for example, his Palestinian origin can be proved.

These activities are practically unanimous in indicating that these activities are inspired and sustained by Rosenthal. It would appear almost true to say that Communism and anarchy in Egypt are a 'one man show' and that the 'one man' is Rosenthal.

signed: W. W. Clayton  
For DIRECTOR GENERAL.

But before this blow hit Rosenthal, another drama was unfolding: a plot to exclude him was being prepared from within the party ranks, from his closest associates.

In a party meeting, following the return of al-Urabi from the fourth congress of the Comintern in Moscow, in December 1922, it was claimed that..



This was Yehiel Kossol, also known as Avigdor, a Soviet agent sent to Egypt to aid in the formation of the Egyptian Communist Party, and who had become Rosenthal's son-in-law by marrying his daughter Charlotte..

Historian Rami Ginat shows through a reading of the Comintern archives, that the plot was al-Urabi's and Avigdor's and that the Comintern had nothing to do with it. In anycase, the decision was a great shock to Rosenthal. His expulsion could either be a friends' betrayal or a Comintern distrust, both were very hard to accept and tormented him.

He attempted relentlessly to have the party and the Comintern reconsider the decision but his letters were met with silence from the Comintern and scorn from al-Urabi, who questioned Rosenthal's integrity on the pages of al-Ahram, and, in his letters to the Comintern, described him as a bourgeois and as insignificant to communism.

Al-Madani, a party member whom al-Urabi wanted to appoint as bursar in place of Rosenthal, defended him and even submitted his resignation in protest. He wrote to a Comintern leading member, Georgeo Safarov:



Rosenthal's expulsion is a great loss for the party .. he is a very useful and active member, a man who has been for over thirty years interested, heart and soul, in the communist and labor movement in Egypt and abroad..

He has been regarded in Egypt as the keystone of the communist movement... he has done in Egypt what no communist could have done anywhere else..

Rosenthal is loved and trusted by the working class in Egypt. They would, and have indeed begun to, abandon the party after learning of his dismissal.

Rosenthal's figure in Egypt, at present and in the past, is closely connected with the entire history of the communist and labor movement in Egypt. It is only thanks to his untiring efforts, energy, activity and devotion that an Egyptian Socialist Party has come into being, and ever since the founding of this party, the most onerous burden of its existence has been thrown on his shoulders.

In the tensions that ensued, Rosenthal was losing connection with his beloved daughter in the Soviet Union. She had left for Moscow in 1922 to study at the University of the Toilers of the East, and was joined by Avigdor. Rosenthal wrote him a letter:

*I received no letters from Charlotte. Did anything happen to her? Please update me at once. You know very well how deeply I am attached to her, and her absence hurts me a lot. What am I to blame for, to make me suffer so much? My worries and suffering greatly affect my activity for the party. These feelings also affect my ability to express my views in detail in this letter.*



Perhaps he was feeling that his beliefs were then costing him the dearest of all. He wrote another letter to the deputy head of the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, when Charlotte was sent to Tashkent by the organisation and news from her had ceased again:



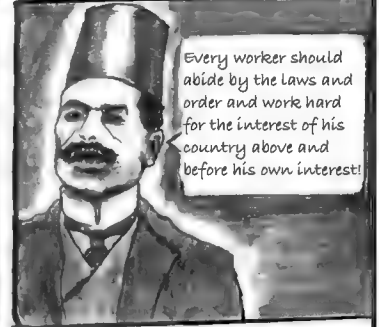
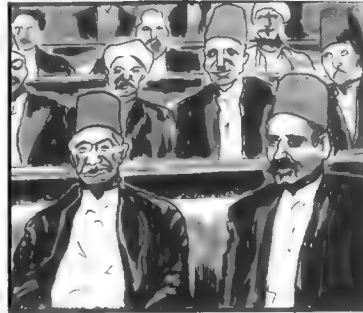
*I particularly feel desperate because Charlotte is not just my daughter; physically and materially, but also my soul, my thought and my spirit. She symbolizes my ideal and my hope. When I sent her to Moscow, the crib of the proletarian revolution, the center of social regeneration, I believed that through her, I would be able to merge with the masses, who were marching towards the conquest of a new world, a world of justice and happiness for the exploited and productive workers. I regard her as the one who would continue, refine and accomplish my life's work that I commenced in Egypt about a quarter of century ago. My work has become more intensive in recent years, owing to the encouragement and influence that I received from the Russian revolution and the Comintern.*

The dismissal from the party, and the abandonment by the Comintern, did not spare Rosenthal the plot to deport him, when the Wafd cracked down on the party.

At the end of 1923, the CGT took part in a wave of labor mobilizations which culminated in the workers' occupation of the National Spinning Company and the Egoiin Oil factories in Alexandria. The factory occupations coincided with the electoral victory of the Wafd in January 1924 and the rise of its charismatic leader, Saad Zaghlul to premiership.

but the World and its leadership perceived the labor mobilizations as a campaign to discredit its new government and the nationalist cause of independence.. it would work side by side with the British to crush the socialist and labor movements

The entire leadership of the nationalist movement was made up of large- and medium- landowners who wished to see no change in the socio-economic status quo, and focused on the question of political independence.



Every worker should abide by the laws and order and work hard for the interest of his country above and before his own interest!

Only one month had passed since the rise of the first elected national government to power, when Zaghlul took action. To end the occupation of the factories, he ordered the under-secretary of state, and Keown-Boyd, the head of the European department within the Ministry of Interior, to proceed to Alexandria with a battalion of Egyptian infantry, and "to show a firm front".

The delegation reported back that the strikes were "engineered by the communist party" rather than stemmed from real grievances.

Who taught you  
such methods of  
occupying the  
factory?!

The communists??

If you show respect to the property of others and leave by your own will, you will be treated as people who are faithful to the law and to the homeland..

..but if you refuse to, and insist on violating the property of others, you will be treated as disobedient outlaws!

well..we've seen the workers in Milan occupy their factories to demand their legitimate rights before the rise of Mussolini



A fierce crackdown ensued on the Egyptian Communist Party and the CGT. Leaders and suspected members were arrested, and twenty foreign party members and workers involved in the strikes were deported. Wafdist leaders and union heads loyal to the Wafd, attacked the communists as foreign troublemakers who tried to mislead patriotic Egyptian workers.

التحقيق مع الشيوعيين

شهادة المسير روزنثال

تاريخ نشأة حركة العمال والاشتراكية في مصر

الاستكبرية في مامرس - مراسل  
مهمهم الشخصي - وقفا في رسالة ابن السور  
بورف وزوجات نائب نادبة الشهادة  
وغيره البالي نائب العمومي في قضية  
الطبعة في لارزال - تحت التحقيق في النيابة

After the arrest of the Egyptian leadership of the party, the prosecution summoned Rosenthal as a witness.

At the court, he answered the Parquet's questions about the difference between socialism and communism, and explained that the factory occupations stemmed from the workers' desperate situation. His testimony was published in full in al-Akram, and the paper commented that his testimony was an important historical document.

Two days later, he sent a personal statement to be published in al-Ahram.

## بعضة الحركة الشيوعية

بيان من السيد روزنثال

الحركة الشيوعية

الاستمارة في ١١ مارس - مراسل  
الإبرام المحفوظي - لا يزال التحقيق في  
قضية الشيوعية. نسمع لدى النيابة العامة  
وفي كل يوم تستدعى أفراداً ثم يسبق لها  
اعتناقهم في عهده القضية. وقد استلتمت  
اليوم للتحقيق موقفاً من مصلحة الجمارك  
وصاحب منزل جازر في غيب العنب وبطل  
اعتقال من نقابة الزمام الحمراء وكلف بعض هؤلاء  
الزيارة تفحص منازل أولئك الرجال وضبط ما  
يوجد عندهم من أوراق الشيوعية.  
وقد تلقينا اليوم من السيد روزنثال بياناً  
يشير فيه ما قيل في بعض الصحف عن تضلُّل  
من الشيوعية ومبادئها وإيجاز فيه ما يلي:  
« ردت في بعض الصحف ملاحظات  
وتعليقات تنال بعضاً مما في وقتها أمام  
هالي النائب المصري عن الحركة الشيوعية  
في مصر وقد رأيت ذلك يستدعي بعض التصحيح  
أولاً: إنني لم أكن قط رئيساً للحزب  
الاشتراكي المصري ولكني اشتركت في تأسيسه  
ولدت أحد أعضائه لجنة التنفيذية.  
ثانياً: إن الحزب الاشتراكي المصري  
يجهل في الحقيقة إلى حزب شيوعي لأنه  
كان منذ تأسيسه حزباً شيوعياً. يسمى بالاشتراكي  
الاشتراكي وقد اعترف بمبادئ الشيوعية  
وتعاليمها ووافق على خطط الدولة الشيوعية.  
أما تغير الاسم فحدث وفقاً لطلب اللجنة  
المرئية للشيوعية الدولية وكان ذلك شرطاً  
لقبول الحزب في هذه الدولة.  
ثالثاً: إذا كنت لا علاقة لي بالحزب  
الشيوعي الحالي فذلك ليس ثامناً من فلاشي  
الحزب الاشتراكي المصري (الذي لم يجلش  
غير اسمه) ولكني أرجحت على ذلك على أثر  
وشايات ومطاع وجهها إلى بعض التطفلين  
على السياسة من الذين دخلوا الحزب وقصروا  
إلى فصل منه فتجسروا لا أوجد انقساماً  
في وحدة الحزب ولا أظهر في العمل ضد حركة  
الاجتماعية اشاطرها بمبادئها.  
رابعاً: ما كنت ولن أكون أبداً « من  
أولئك الإخلاء ذوي الطغاة الذين  
يتكبرون اليوم بمبادئهم بالأمس »  
فقد كنت وما زلت ولا أزال حتى آخر نسمة  
من حياتي شيوعياً تاملاً وخلصاً تاماً  
لقضية البر ولينكارا.  
خامساً: إنزعما أظهر في اللجنة المركزية  
المصرية الشيوعي المصري من تلك الحجة وما  
أرتكبه من الاغلاقات لعضائين منها تضامناً  
واسطاً لي بضمي من المسؤولية.  
وسأزيد السبق ورواياتي على ما تقدم بعض  
أراء وأفكار الشيوعية وأنا أرى في الترقى ونحو  
ذلك مما لا يدخل فيه يدين انضاجه للجمهور  
من لسانه ما كتب عنه في بعض الصحف.

"Due to misunderstandings that stemmed from my recent testimony to the Egyptian parquet about the communist movement in Egypt, I deemed it necessary to make some corrections.

First, I have never been the president of the Egyptian Socialist Party, but I contributed in founding it, and I sat on its executive committee.

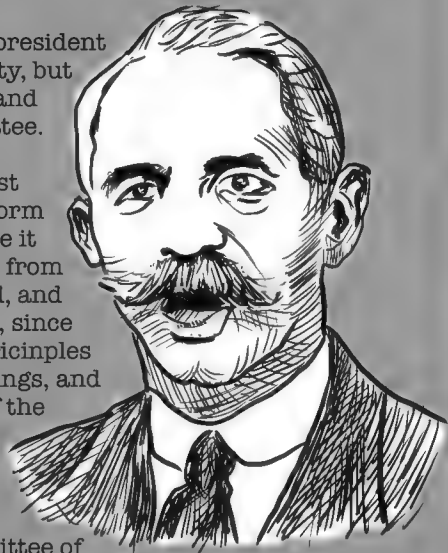
Second, the Egyptian Socialist Party in truth did not transform into a communist party, since it has always been communist, from the moment it was conceived, and socialist only in name. It has, since its beginning, adopted the principles of communism and its teachings, and subscribed to the schemes of the Communist Internationale.

The name change, to The Egyptian Communist Party took place upon the demand of the central committee of the Comintern, as a condition to accept its membership.

Third, if I no longer have a connection to the current communist party, that is not because the Egyptian Socialist Party vanished, only its name has, but I was forced to quit it due to tears and stabs directed at me by intruders to politics, who have entered the party and managed to dismiss me from it, following which I have decided to resign, so as not to create divisions in the party's unity, and in order not to cause any harm to a social movement whose values I believe in.

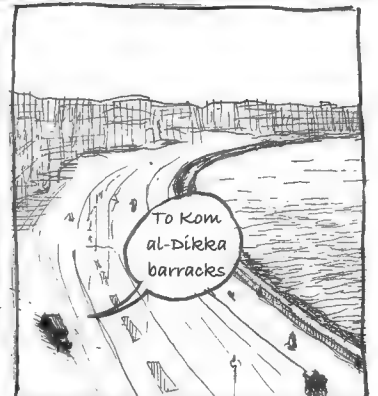
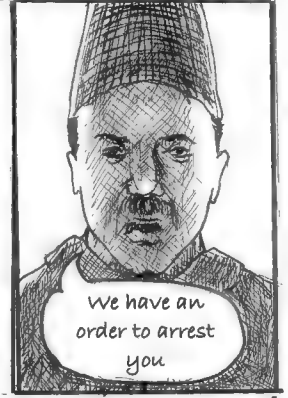
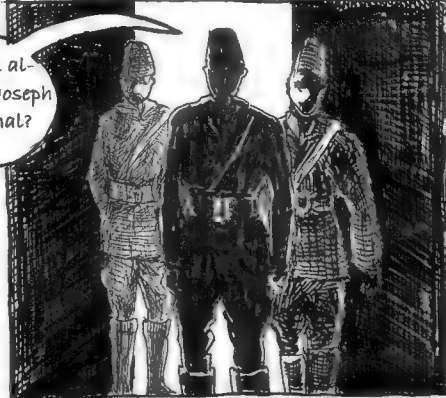
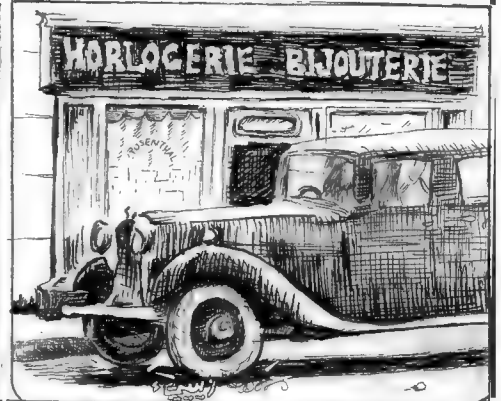
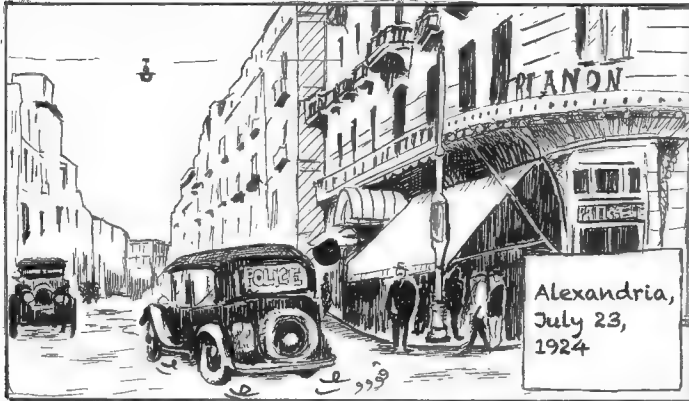
Fourth, I never was, and will never be, one of those influential members, who would blatantly deny today what they had worshipped yesterday. **For I have been, and I still am, and I will always be, until my last breath, a communist wholly loyal to the cause of the proletariat.**

Fifth, despite what the central committee of the Egyptian Communist Party has shown of lack of experience, and despite the errors it has committed, **I stand in complete solidarity with its members, and I demand my share of responsibility.**



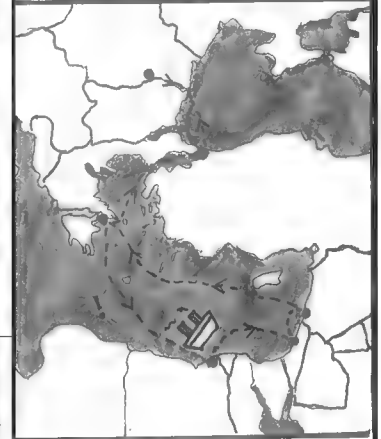
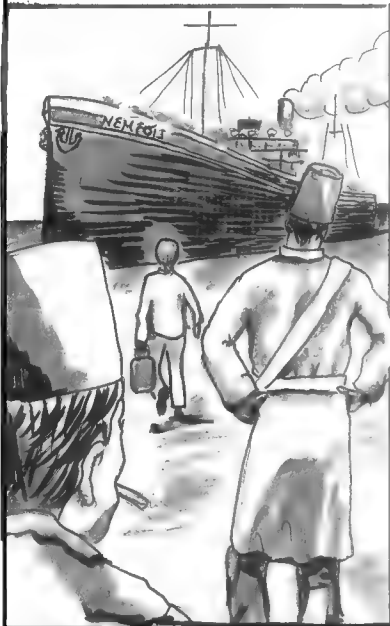


After his statement was published, Rosenthal was summoned again by the prosecutor, and held onto the views he had expressed.



He was detained, and told that he was to be expelled from Egypt, despite his protestation that he was an Egyptian citizen. The deportation of Rosenthal was an example of a rising and systematic policy in the British policing of socialism, communism and labor activism in Egypt, led by the British European Department within the Ministry of Interior, and approved by the newly-elected government: to deport all "foreigners" or "local subjects of foreign extraction" suspected of communism or active in the labor movement.

A few days later, Rosenthal was put on board the Thimsis, a cargo vessel, and embarked to Romania, but there, he was refused entry. While the Thimsis was roaming the Mediterranean looking for a receiving country in vain, al-Ahram reported regularly on the whereabouts of "the wandering communist".



A month later, Rosenthal was back in Alexandria aboard the same ship. The Egyptian police awaited him at the port to prevent him from landing, but he managed to escape from the ship, to a hospital to undergo a needed operation. The police found him and dragged him back to the ship.

### الشيوعى التائه

سبأجراء عملية جراحية له -  
الاسكندرية في ١٥ سجمو - لمراجل  
الاجرام المخصوصي - اجريت اليوم الجراحة  
روزقال عملية جراحية في مستشفى الحكومة  
ولاست عملية ناجحة وهي تستدعي مكثري  
المستشفى عدة ايام  
وقد حقق احضرة وكيل ادارة الامن العام  
مع الحراس الذين كانوا يحرسون الباخرة ونيس  
يوم حرب روزقال منها لم يجد لهم عنراً مقبولا  
لهم تقصيرهم ولذلك ينظر ان يتالوا الى جلس  
عسكري لها كتهم

### الشيوعى التائه

فراده من الباخرة التي هو فيها واعادته اليها  
وصل الى وزارة الداخلية من - عاصمة  
الاسكندرية امس حوالي الظهر بلاغ صحواء  
ان الحراس المكثرين احاطوا على المسوروزحال  
ومنعه من مغادرة الباخرة « نيس » التي هو  
فيها والزول معها الى ميناء الاسكندرية استعدوه  
امس صباحا ولم يجذوه في الباخرة وعطوا له  
زل منها الى البناء واخفى في الاسكندرية  
ووصل اليها منها امس بعد الظهر بلاغ  
آخر صحواء ان البحث عن المسوروزحال  
التي المصالحور عليه في مستشفى - من  
مستشفيات الاسكندرية قالوا ان احاط الاذعاب  
اليه على ان تميل له فيه عملية جراحية وقد اعيد  
من المستشفى الى الباخرة التي كان فيها وضعت  
الرقابة عليه  
وتم حنا ان وزارة الداخلية امرت عاصمة  
الاسكندرية بالتصديق مع الحراس المكثرين  
الحفاظة على المسوروزحال لمرقة الطرقتاتي  
استطاع بها الزول الى ميناء الاسكندرية وتعيين  
الاشخاص الذين تقدم عليهم تيمة ذلك

### الشيوعى التائه

عودته الى الاسكندرية -  
الاسكندرية في ٩ سجمو - لمراجل  
الاجرام المخصوصي - وصلت الباخرة  
« تمسيسي » اليوم الى الاسكندرية وقد صبح  
البحر الذي تشرطه مندوبين من عودة روزقال  
على هذه الباخرة لا البحر الذي قلناه امس  
عن نزوله في الاسكندرية فتمنا انه لم يؤذله  
بالزول هناك لاجل على نفس الباخرة الى  
الاسكندرية  
ولا انصفي الخبر الى السلطة المحلية ارسلت  
الحفاظة شرزمة من رجال البوليس لليم نزوله  
من السفينة ومراقبته عليها

### الشيوعى التائه

الاسكندرية في ٢٧ أغسطس - لمراجل  
الاجرام المخصوصي - تم فصل الباخرة « نيس »  
يوم السبت لتقدم الى الاسكندرية وهي  
الباخرة التي اقلت المسوروزقال والشيوخ  
التائه الى رومانيا التي ايت عليه الزول فيها  
ويؤخذ من رخصة جاءت من اليسوروزقال  
قده الله لا يزال حتى الان يحارب البحار  
على ظهر هذه الباخرة  
وقد علم الجراء ان حكومة السوفييت قررت  
ان تقبله في بلادها وان حكومة رومانيا عادت  
تجازت له المرور منها الى تلك البلاد وعلى ذلك  
ففي اليوم الذي يعود به على ظهر الباخرة « نيس »  
الى الاسكندرية يماذ على ظهر هذه الباخرة نفسها  
الى رومانيا فروسيا

While the authorities were looking for a country to accept to take Rosenthal, he filed a lawsuit against the government, for trying unlawfully to deport him from his own country, citing his rights according to the Egyptian constitution (the first Egyptian constitution had only been written the year before).

After a few weeks in detention, a representative of the Public Security administration, and the head of the Secret Police, both went to see Rosenthal, and offered him to sign a pledge that he "will no longer propagate communist ideas in Egypt and will not interfere in workers' issues", and that he will drop his lawsuit against the government. In exchange, the government will release him and will allow him to apply for Egyptian nationality in the legal ways!



## حل مسألة روزنتال

الحكومة تأخذ عليه عهداً

وتخرج عنه

الاسكندرية في ٢ نوفمبر — لمراسل الاهرام  
الخصوصي — حلت مسألة الخواجه يوسف  
روزنتال وكادت. فقد اكدت وزارة الداخلية  
حضره سيد بك العزي من ادارة الامن العام  
ليبحث في امره وحل مشكلته فجاء الى الاسكندرية  
لهذا الغرض. وقد ذهب امس الى المستشفى  
الاهري — حيث لا يزال روزنتال معقلاً —  
بصحبه حضرة كمال أفندي الطرابلسي رئيس  
النيكس المصري والاستاذ مصطفى الطرابلسي  
تلمي روزنتال. وبحث الرجل فيا هوأت  
للبحث فيه. وبعد تبادل الاراء والمناقشة في  
الموضوع قبل مسيو روزنتال ان يكتب مكال  
عن نفسه يعهد فيه بأنه لا يشغل بعد الآن  
بيت الدعوة الشيوعية في القطر المصري. ولا  
يتدخل في شؤون البلاد. وأنه يتنازل عن  
الدعوة التي رفعها على الحكومة المصرية من  
أجل مسألة الجنسية وطلب التوفيق. وبتوفيق  
بأنه من اصل عثماني وجنسية عثمانية. وله الحق  
في ان يسعى السعي القانوني لاثبات جنسيته  
المصرية

Rosenthal took the offer, but a few weeks after his release, he tried to obtain a voting card and was denied, on the basis that he was not Egyptian, despite all the evidence he presented. Luckily, he had not dropped the lawsuit against the government but only postponed it. When the government found out about this, it sued him for not fulfilling the pledge, which he had signed under pressure in detention!

But the day of the hearing of the lawsuit by the Ministry against Rosenthal, in March 1926, a government official told the judge that there is a reconciliation plan being discussed with Rosenthal, and then made a new offer to Rosenthal, that he drops his lawsuit against the government in exchange for Egyptian nationality.

## مسألة نفى روزنتال

ودعواه على الحكومة

الاسكندرية في ٢٨ يوليو — لمراسل الاهرام  
الخصوصي — نكس ان النيكس جوف روزنتال  
عبدالل الأساذن عراقي هو فقط. فتم الدعوة  
على الحكومة من اجل ما قرره من امر نفيه  
من بلاد العراق من امه الى الجنسية المصرية  
التي مقيم. دستور. وقدراس الخفاف اسار  
الدعوى الى وزارة الداخلية مصر يوم ليل  
ليها هناك والذي يعطى بالحكومة مصر عن  
مالي قدره ثمان جنيه ما عدا. سقطت ثم ان  
المسيو روزنتال قدم عرضة الى النيابة الاهلية  
يشتر فيها من نيوكس احتجاجاً على ما اعتدته  
ادارة النيكس من الاجراءات لتوقيفه وحده  
بدون ان يكون لديه امر الخنس من ساء  
وبدون ان تسمى له همة رسمية وهو يفت  
بأنه يفت قدره ٢٠٠ جنيه عن كل يوم يسجن  
فيه هذه النكبة  
وقد هما ان نكبة ارسلت هذه شكوى  
اليوم الى معالي النائب العمومي في القاهرة  
ولا يزال المسو روزنتال موقوف في اوم  
الدعة ولا يزال له الخروج من المكان. وقد  
ابيح له حطب بعض المعدات من منزله والاختلاط  
بالشيوخين النكسين في قفصه الشيوعية المرونة  
وكأنهم لا يراون معقلاً هناك يا عدا الاساذن  
مارون الذي غل منذ ايام الى مستشفى سجن  
الحضرة الكو معن الصلحة.

## الحكومة وروزنتال

امام القضاء

مسألة الجنسية المصرية

الاسكندرية في ٢ مارس — لمراسل الاهرام  
الخصوصي — علمنا ان القضية التي رفعتها  
الحكومة على الخواجه يوسف روزنتال في  
القاهرة تطالبه فيها بالقيام بما تمهده من التنازل  
عن دعوى التوفيق التي كان قد اقامها عليها  
اثاء اعتقاله بسبب الشيوعية — اجلت الى  
٢٩ ابريل القادم وقد تلقى المسيو روزنتال  
كتاباً من وكيله في العاصمة يقول له فيه ما يلي:  
« بعد ان اعددت الدعوى لرافضة وتوجيت  
الى المحكمة لهذا الغرض حضر مندوب من قبل  
الحكومة وبالغ المحكمة بان هناك مشروعا للصلح  
يقضي بأنه اذا اعترفت ثم الحكومة بالجنسية  
المصرية فاسمك تتنازل عن دعوى التوفيق.

What the Ministry of Interior was doing with Rosenthal was symptomatic of a process of securitization of nationality practices, which began under the British, even before the legislation of Egyptian nationality, and continued through the many subsequent re-legislations and amendments that increasingly focused on facilitating the policing of ideas, and of communists and syndicalist socialists.

From 1925 onward, Rosenthal withdrew from communist activism, although he was summoned for interrogation on several occasions after that date.

Charlotte remained active. She was back from Moscow and took charge of the party affairs when the new leadership were all arrested in July 1925, including her husband Avigdor, until she was arrested herself a few weeks later.

She was Accused of "criminal conspiracy to incite to murder and subvert the system of society by force; to form a league of workers and peasants to intimidate capitalists and proprietors and to spread subversive doctrines and literature.." among other accusations..

Rosenthal tried everything to get his daughter out of jail. He asked for the help of the assistant editor of the Egyptian Gazette, and even approached the acting British High Commissioner, to no avail. But the court acquitted Charlotte anyway at the beginning of 1926, after only eight months in jail, while Avigdor and others remained incarcerated for three years, perhaps due to her father's efforts.

Her release raised criticism in the Comintern, where a report said that "she behaved badly during the trial and denied membership in the Egyptian Communist Party". She was also criticized in Moscow for having been represented by a rich lawyer, a member of the reactionary al-Ittihad party, hired by her father.

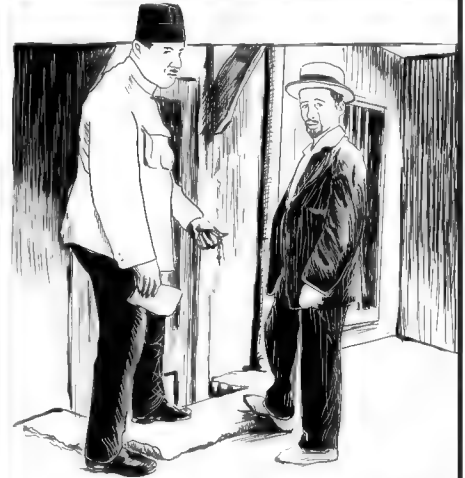
The following year, the party held a trial against Charlotte, accusing her of refusing to cooperate with party comrades, and of collaborating with her father and others who were dismissed from the party.

Charlotte and her father were the target of absurd accusations from outside the party as well. In early October 1927, they were accused of plotting with the leader of the al-Hizb al-Watani to assassinate King Fuad during his visit to Europe, to overthrow the monarchy and to establish a republican regime, supported by communist Russia. After two months of investigations, the police determined that there was no such plot.

But anyway, the Comintern and Soviet policy were clearly not enthusiastic for Rosenthal or his daughter. Their marginalization as Jews would become policy. In July 1927, in a meeting with the Comintern's Eastern Section in Moscow, al-Urabi criticized the comintern's role in reinforcing a hegemony of Jews in the Arab communist movements. A few months later, Stalin ordered the arabization of the communist parties of the Arab East.



شوعية صهيونية  
هي الآلة شارلوت ورونتال ابنة السيور رنتال الشيوعي المعروف الذي  
نقته الحكومة مرة ثم سمحت بعودته وهي من ضمن الشيوعيين المقبوض عليهم  
اغيراً والجاري التحقيق معهم في الوقت الحاضر



Charlotte then left for Moscow, and was followed by her husband Avigdor who was deported from Egypt after his release from prison. From there she continued to work for the Egyptian Communist Party and to look after the communist prisoners through her father's lawyer.

A couple of years later, under Ismail Sidqi's premiership, drastic legislations were issued to fight socialism, in coordination with British advisers. One of which was an amendment made to the first Egyptian nationality law of 1929, providing for the loss of nationality by any Egyptian who:

"...residing abroad, is affiliated with an organization aimed at carrying out subversive propaganda against the social or economic order of the state or the fundamental institutions of society, or working towards the same ends by any other means, and any Egyptian who is affiliated with a headquarter or a branch, an educational or a non-educational institution, an office or a group, that depends on or is affiliated in any way to such organization, whether this organization or its affiliates exist in Egypt or abroad, and whomever in the same conditions, learns, by following courses or by any other way, the doctrines or the methods of such organizations"

"Parlement, peut être déclaré déchu de la Nationalité Egyptienne par décret celui qui, résident hors d'Egypte, est affilié à une organisation ayant pour objet une propagande subversive de l'ordre social ou économique de l'Etat ou des institutions fondamentales de la société en tendant aux mêmes fins par tout autre moyen, ou à tout office, succursale, établissement scolaire ou autre, bureau ou groupement qui dépend ou se rattache d'une manière quelconque à pareille organisation, que la dite organisation ou sa dépendance se trouve en Egypte ou à l'étranger, ainsi que celui qui, dans les mêmes conditions, s'initie, en suivant des cours d'instruction ou de toute autre manière, aux doctrines et aux méthodes de pareille organisation.  
"L'individu qui aura ainsi perdu sa nationalité pourra la recouvrer en conformité des dispositions de l'article 8 de la présente loi."

Art. 2.—Notre Ministre de l'Intérieur est chargé de l'exécution de la présente loi qui entrera en vigueur dès sa publication au "Journal Officiel."

Fait au Palais de Koubbeh, le 2 Safar 1350 (18 juin 1931).

FOUAD.

Par le Roi :

Le Président du Conseil des Ministres,  
ISMAIL SEDKY.



Portrait of Charlotte Rosenthal, an Egyptian nationalist and communist activist.

Le Ministre de l'Intérieur,  
ISMAIL SEDKY.

The Egyptian Law prevents the banishment from Egypt of any Egyptian subject and it has been hitherto illegal to exclude from this country any Egyptian wishing to disembark at an Egyptian port who is in possession of proper nationality papers. This difficulty is overcome by Law No.92.

ملف ٤٧  
تسجيلات عامة  
(ملاحظة - تمهيد)  
بعد اصدار سلام الجمهوريه في عام ١٩٠٦  
طالب بالكلية الحقوقية بمصر  
MOHAMMED AHMED BAKLAN ٤١٤  
RUE EL BALAD  
BOL. E.S. 127 N°102  
ولد السيد محمد بن  
ABDEL AZIZ MOHAMMED SANI  
BOL. E.S. 176 N°102  
ولد المرحوم لعل  
ABDEL RAHMAN FADL  
BOL. E.S. 176 N°104  
بعد حسن الجاهل  
MOHAMMED HADAY EL GHAYAN  
BOL. E.S. 160 N°108  
بعد صهيون بنديار  
MOHAMMED MUSTAFA DOWEDAR  
BOL. E.S. 163 N°102  
تسجيلات عامة  
GHADYAN HAYEK  
BOL. E.S. 168 N°107  
تسجيلات عامة  
علي حسين حنين  
ABD. HUSSEIN HANNANIN  
BOL. E.S. 163 N°108  
تاريخ وثائق  
MOHAMMED ROSENTHAL  
BOL. E.S. 164 N°109

Before the promulgation of this amendment, the Egyptian government presented the draft to the British authorities for advice and approval. The British Judicial Adviser to the Ministry of Interior and the European Department were favorable to the decree, because, in their words, "it overcame the obstacle presented by previous legislation against banishing an Egyptian subject, in possession of proper nationality papers". They added that the law was designed to prevent the return of those who joined the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow to be trained in socialist agitation.

The law was promulgated, and immediately eight Egyptians were declared stripped of their nationality, including Charlotte Rosenthal.

Rosenthal was thus separated from his daughter. But the worst was yet to come.



In 1933, Charlotte was discharged from the University of the Toilers of the East after a purge of the institution, on the ground that she was "an unqualified, and haphazard element". Evaluations in her personal file referred to her father as a corrupting "bourgeois element".

Avigdor himself was arrested in Moscow in March 1936 while he was working as an expert on Middle East affairs in the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. He was accused of participating in a trotskyite plot, sentenced to five years in prison, but the sentence was immediately converted to execution. In June 1938, he was shot dead at a training base south of moscow.

Following, the arrest of her husband, Charlotte was also arrested and interrogated, at the conclusion of which she was sent to a hard labor camp in Siberia, where she spent eighteen years, until 1955, when she was released and rehabilitated, like others who had been thrown in the gulag during the Stalinist purge.



In October 1958, Charlotte reunited with her 86 year old father in Alexandria, but only for a short period. Because in March 1959, the Egyptian authorities deported her to the Soviet Union, separating her from her aging father once again!

She lived alone in a Soviet home for the elderly.

Charlotte is considered lucky, since dozens of Jewish communists who had been deported to the Soviet Union from Egypt by the Anglo-British security apparatus, were executed in the stalinist purge or died of the conditions of their banishment in hard labor camps, after they were accused of a variety of political crimes.

What happened to Rosenthal?

He tried again in 1936 to obtain a proof of Egyptian nationality, but his request was rejected based on the Political Police's opinion, because of "his communist views". Rosenthal then filed a lawsuit against the Ministry of Interior, in August 1944, because the Passport and Nationality Department was denying him an Egyptian passport. But this case went on until December 1948, when the court held that it was incompetent to rule on the issue.

He again resubmitted an application to be granted an Egyptian nationality certificate and a passport in 1948, and in 1949, and, faced with the persistent refusal by the Passport Department, he filed a lawsuit against the Ministry of Interior, this time at the recently established State Council.



## المملكة المصرية

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## شهادة جنسية

In the examination of his case in December 1950, the Ministry of Interior's defense raised Rosenthal's communism and the denaturalization and deportation of his daughter in 1931. But the judge refused to accept this as a reason for denying him Egyptian nationality, arguing that this was only lawful in cases of nationality by naturalization and not in cases of nationality by right.

The court thus asserted his right to Egyptian nationality, after 25 years of maneuvering on the part of the Ministry of Interior, and when the man was almost 80 years old, his beloved daughter lay in a labor camp in Siberia, his wife had died, and his other children had left Egypt.

After that, I have not found a trace of Rosenthal. How did he live in Alexandria? Did he really get proper nationality papers after the court rulings? Did he give up?

Most importantly, how did he feel? the tragedy of his daughter and her husband, the oppression raging in the Soviet Union, the only state he had regarded highly, the betrayal by his comrades, the rejection and exclusion by the Egyptian nationalists and harassment by the security apparatus.. It all must have weighed heavily upon him.

In his interview to Yediot Aharonot a few months before his death in 1966, he said he spent the remaining years in Alexandria, absorbed in his work, lonely, but loved and treated well by his surrounding.



In 1963, historian Mohammad Anis wrote an article in the governmental newspaper al-Gomhuriyya, telling the history of Egyptian socialism, and for the first time, giving the main credit to Rosenthal for sowing the seed of the movement.

Anis' articles reached the hands of Charlotte in Moscow, aged 67. She apparently solicited the mediation of Khrushchev to request from Nasser that Rosenthal be allowed to leave Egypt.

Anis' article is thought to have angered Nasser, because it was saying that 'a foreigner' was behind the birth of Egyptian socialism! The old man's jewellery shop was subsequently confiscated, and he was "allowed" to leave Egypt.

Rosenthal decided to spend the little time he had left in Palestine/Israel. He had left Safad eighty years earlier, angry, and determined to spend his life fighting religious dogma, sectarianism, nationalism and capitalist exploitation. Now he was back to spend his last days in his birth place in a completely different reality, one that contradicted all the principles and ideals he had fought for all his life. He died at the end of January 1966.

